

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence.

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Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwanxhanas which vary considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwanxhans of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion,

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it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain²⁷ and "plain style" with the use of the threshing apparatus²⁸. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Laristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south²⁹. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifur, the owner of the village of Toprawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horse-drawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Sphærian plain between Sulimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor³⁰. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

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The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *hamdi* or *owab*, placed in a store room³¹. Two forms of silo exist³². The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay ovals with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich³³ this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house³⁴. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

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The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach³⁵ concerning their construction.

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The taboran fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jir*, has a plough-share, gale, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2246) that was brought home, the sole and the lower part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *ker-jir*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. Its type the plough is a bar-plough, described by Gluck as a "break-and"³⁶. Worth calls the type "Krimshilling" and compares it with the Tripakomus plough³⁷ known from Asia minor. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Joke and Ploughshare are almost identical"³⁸. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish plough of antiquity from Hoveder and Voldrup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dæstrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr³⁹, who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

342 capital, which were a primitive form of the classical, vaulted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-arched glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adapash*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

822 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes, and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who have raised rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, potted cans or men's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their access at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable cooking stove kept for the grinding of milk, of rice for the flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm.

343 812 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay alms, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living store of the house and only with access from here.

342 The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, lay out of the terrace, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one story only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the street represented the *shah-lik*, three-walled *harem*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two low-arched, low-set, glass windows overlooking the street. The western room had an irregular oval floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cup-shaped *shah-lik*, devoid of windows, with

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